

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
TRSE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /079 W
-----019418 222100Z /65

R 211325Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4304
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
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BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: N.A.
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: THE PCE CONGRESS: CARRILLO'S SPEECH

REF: MADRID 3923 (NOTAL); MADRID 3633 (NOTAL)

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1. SUMMARY: THE PCE'S NINTH PARTY CONGRESS BEGAN ON
APRIL 19 AND WILL CONCLUDE ON APRIL 23. CARRILLO'S
POLITICAL REPORT WAS RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTICALLY BY
THE 1364 DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE, WHOSE RESPONSE
APPEARED TO CONFIRM THAT HE IS FIRMLY IN THE SADDLE,
IF THERE WAS EVER ANY DOUBT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PCE KICKED OFF ITS 5-DAY NINTH PARTY CONGRESS (THE FIRST IN LEGALITY SINCE 1932) APRIL 19 IN A MADRID HOTEL BEFORE 1364 ASSEMBLED DELEGATES (REPRESENTING THE PARTY'S CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP OF 200,740) AND HUNDREDS OF INVITED GUESTS AND OBSERVERS. AFTER THE CEREMONIAL OPENING AND THE PRO FORMA RESIGNATION OF THE INCUMBENT 136-MEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC), PCE SECGEN SANTIAGO CARRILLO MADE A 2-HOUR PRESENTATION OF THE POLITICAL REPORT (HIGHLIGHTS SUMMARIZED BELOW). THE DELEGATES THEN BROKE DOWN INTO COMMITTEES TO CONSIDER THE REPORT AND THE CC'S 15 POLITICAL THESES AND PROPOSED PARTY STATUTES (REFTELS). COMMITTEE AND PLENARY SESSIONS (THE LATTER OPEN TO THE PRESS) WILL CONTINUE THROUGH APRIL 22, WHEN THE NEW, 160-MEMBER CC WILL BE NAMED; IT WILL THEN ELECT THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND, EVERYONE ASSUMES, REELECT CARRILLO SECGEN. THE CONGRESS WILL CLOSE WITH A MASSIVE RALLY AT A MADRID BULL RING AYI A COMPANION RALLY AT THE SPORTS PAVILION IN BARCELONA, THE LATTER A BOW TO THE IMPORTANCE AND FORMAL AUTONOMY OF THE CATALAN PCE BRANCH (THE PSUC), WHICH WON 8 OF THE PARTY'S 20 LOWER HOUSE SEATS.

3. IN HIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS, CARRILLO HAD SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT ALMOST EVERYTHING. SOME EXAMPLES:

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4. PCE STRATEGY. THE MOST APPROPRIATE STRATEGY FOR US TODAY CONSISTS OF CONFRONTING THE CURRENT CRISIS IN COMBINATION WITH THE BROADEST POSSIBLE COMBINATION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES. WE MUST TRY TO ARRIVE AT THE MOST PROGRESSIVE SOLUTIONS, SEEING TO IT THAT THE COSTS OF THE CRISIS ARE NOT BORNE EXCLUSIVELY BY THE WORKERS AND THOSE OF MODEST MEANS. WE ALSO MUST WORK FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURAL REFORMS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND EXTEND DEMOCRACY TO THE FUNCTIONING OF THIS SECTOR AND TO THE BUSINESS ENTERPRISE.

5. THE LENINISM CONTROVERSY. WE DO NOT INTEND TO "ABANDON" LENINISM. WHAT WE PROPOSE IS A SELF-DEFINITION (I.E., "DEMOCRATIC, REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PARTY," RATHER THAN "MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY") THAT WE BELIEVE CORRESPONDS MORE CLOSELY TO WHAT HAS BECOME THE PRACTICE OF THE PARTY AND TO ITS THEORETICAL POSTULATIONS AS WELL. THIS DOES NOT DENY OUR RECOGNITION OF LENIN AS THE GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY OF THIS EPOCH OR THAT WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO STUDY HIS WRITINGS AND ACTIONS CAREFULLY AS ONE OF

THE FUNDAMENTAL MASTERS OF MARXISM. THIS IS ONLY
TO SAY THAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE
DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, 54 YEARS AFTER
LENIN'S DEATH, HAVE CHANGED FUNDAMENTALLY; WE HAVE
TO LEARN AND DEVELOP OURSELVES NOT ONLY FROM THE
BOOKS OF THE MASTERS BUT FROM THE PRACTICES OF THE
WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IN THE WEST AND FROM ITS
SUCSESSES AND FAILURES. THE PARTY CONTINUES TO BE
FAITHFUL TO ITS HISTORIC ORIGINS, TO ITS CONDEMNATION
OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CAPITULATION AND TO ITS
RELATIONSHIP TO THE GREAT SOCIALIST REVOLUTION OF
OCTOBER, WHICH DOES NOT TODAY SIGNIFY DEPENDENCE ON

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TRSE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /079 W
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R 211325Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4305
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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ANY OTHER SOCIALIST STATE NOR ACCEPTANCE OF A DIRECTING
CENTER.

6. AGGRESSIVE SUPPORT FOR SYNDICAL LAW. WE ARE DISPOSED TO CARRY OUT THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN THE PARLIAMENT, IN THE BUSINESS FIRM, AND IN THE STREETS TO SEE TO IT THAT THE SYNDICAL ACTION LAW IS APPROVED AS IT HAS COME OUT OF SUB-COMMITTEE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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(AS AMENDED IN SUB-COMMITTEE THE DRAFT GIVES THE WORKERS COMMITTEES CONSIDERABLE INPUT INTO MANAGERIAL DECISION-MAKING. THE GOVT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT FULLY INTENDS TO RETURN THE DRAFT TO ITS ORIGINAL FORM. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER CARRILLO'S ALLUSION TO THE STREETS WAS RHETORICAL BOMBAST OR IF HE DOES INDEED INTEND TO ASSUME A MORE MILITANT ATTITUDE, AT LEAST ON THIS ONE ISSUE.)

7. THE CONSTITUTION. WE COMMUNISTS ACCEPT THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION AS ONE WHICH "MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO EFFECT PROFOUND STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS THE DAY THAT THERE IS A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY DISPOSED TO REALIZE THEM."

8. 2 CHEERS FOR THE KING. "IF THE MONARCHY CONTINUES CONTRIBUTING POSITIVELY TO CHANGE, IF IT RESPECTS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, AND APPLIES THE CONSTITUTION FAIRLY AND RIGOROUSLY, THE QUESTION OF THE FORM OF THE GOVT WILL LOSE THE DRAMATIC AND CONFLICTIVE NATURE IT HAD IN OTHER EPOCHS OF SPANISH HISTORY."

9. ACCUSATIONS AGAINST BUSINESS. THE EMPRESARIAL CLASS IS ATTEMPTING TO DEMORALIZE THE COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSMEN HAVE LEGITIMATE PROBLEMS, "MONEY IS PARALYZED IN THE BANKS, WHILE UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS DAILY." THE TIME IS NOW GONE WHEN LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS WERE WORKED OUT AT THE STATION HOUSE. THE BUSINESS CLASS SHOULD ADOPT "TRANSPARENT RELATIONS" WITH THE WORKING CLASS FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

10. SUAREZ AND THE DANGER POSED BY THE RIGHT. SUAREZ LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND THE GOVT HAVE NOT CARRIED THROUGH COMPLETELY ON THE PROMISED FISCAL REFORMS AND HAVE FAILED TO IMPLEMENT THE MONCLOA PACTS IN A COMPLETELY SATIS-

FACTORY MANNER. BUT THE GROWING DISQUIET OF THE OLIGARCHY IS WORRISOME, AND SUAREZ (AND IMPLICITLY THE PCE) IS ENDANGERED BY THE PROMOTERS OF THE "GRAN DERECHA."

11. BARBS FOR THE PSOE. THE SOCIALISTS CONTINUE TO PLACE THEIR NARROW ELECTORAL INTERESTS ABOVE THOSE OF THE WORKING CLASS. NEVERTHELESS, "WE DESIRE TO CONVERGE WITH THE PSOE, NOT DIVERGE FROM IT..."

12. NO, AGAIN, TO NATO. WE COMMUNISTS -- AND IN THIS WE AGREE WITH THE POSITION MAINTAINED UNTIL NOW BY THE PSOE -- ARE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED TO SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO.

13. THE CLOSING FILLIP. WHEN CARRILLO CLOSED HIS ADDRESS BY TELLING THE ASSEMBLED DELEGATES TO VOTE HIM OUT IF HE HAD NOT PERFORMED TO THEIR SATISFACTION -- HE WOULD "GLADLY RETURN TO THE RANK AND FILE" -- SOME 90 OF THE DELEGATES REPORTEDLY ROSE AND GAVE HIM A LENGTHY OVATION, MATCHED ONLY BY THE OVATIONS GIVEN PARTY PRESIDENT IBARRURI (LA PASIONARIA) AND, IRONICALLY ENOUGH, THE CPSU DELEGATION WHEN IT WAS INTRODUCED. THIS WAS INTERPRETED BY REPORTERS ON THE SCENE TO MEAN THAT, IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY DOUBT ABOUT CARRILLO'S POSITION, IT HAD NOW BEEN DISSOLVED.

14. ON HAND FOR THE OPENING CEREMONIES WERE OBSERVERS FROM 18 SPANISH PARTIES, RANGING FROM ALIANZA POPULAR AND UCD THROUGH THE SOCIALISTS TO A NUMBER OF EXTREME LEFT GROUPS. (INTERESTINGLY, BUT NOT SURPRISINGLY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PSOE REPRESENTATIVE ENRIQUE MUGICA WAS ABSENT FROM THE OPENING CEREMONIES, AND THE PSOE WAS NOT REPRESENTED.

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TRSE-00 COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /079 W
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R 211325Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4306
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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SENTED WHEN IT WAS INTRODUCED.) THERE ALSO WERE A
REPORTED 37 FOREIGN DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE CPSU, ALL EASTERN EUROPEAN PARTIES EXCEPT THE
CZECH, THE WEST EUROPEAN CP'S, AND PARTIES FROM LATIN
AMERICA, ASIA AND AFRICA.

15. THE ONLY FRATERNAL MESSAGE THUS FAR TO RECEIVE
ANY PLAY IN THE MADRID PRESS HAS BEEN THAT OF THE
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CPSU (MOSCOW 8348). ALTHOUGH THE SPANISH PAPERS
HAVE NOT PICKED UP THE FULL TEXT OF THE MESSAGE,
MADRID'S "INFORMACIONES" CALLED IT A "CLEAR WARNING"
TO THE PCE, WHILE "EL PAIS", WHICH CURRENTLY IS
CARRYING ON A RUNNING PUBLIC FEUD WITH CARRILLO,
MENTIONED BRIEFLY THAT THE CPSU HAD REMINDED THE
PCE THAT THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG, COMBATIVE CP
"THAT IS GUIDED BY THE SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF MARXISM-
LENINISM" IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GUARANTEE OF DEMOCRATIC
TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS--
A RATHER BLUNT MESSAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TWO
PARTIES' CONTINUING STRAINED RELATIONS AND THE PCE'S

CURRENT MOVE TO ERASE "LENINISM" FROM THE PARTY'S
SELF-DEFINITION AND STATUTES, ALTHOUGH WHILE
ACKNOWLEDGING ITS DEBT TO LENIN. STABLER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MADRID04300
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780172-1123
Format: TEL
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780431/aaaabadp.tel
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 MADRID 3923, 78 MADRID 3633
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2893782
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE PCE CONGRESS: CARRILLO'S SPEECH
TAGS: PINT, SP, PCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/501aefa9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014